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## Sakharov Returns From Exile



Journalists surround Andrei D. Sakharov, center, wearing hat, on his return to Moscow from internal exile in Gorky.

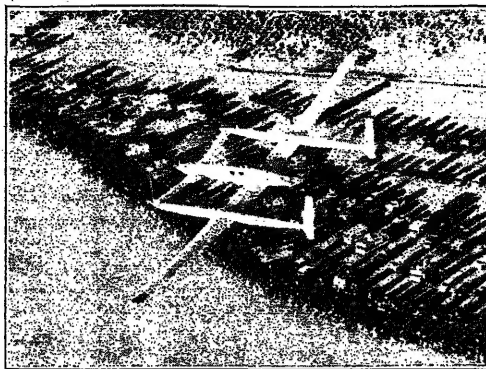
### Back in Moscow, He Assails Policy On Afghanistan

By Philip Taubman  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Andrei D. Sakharov returned to Moscow on Tuesday, ending nearly seven years of exile in the closed city of Gorky for his advocacy of human rights.

Mr. Sakharov, a physicist, and his wife, Yelena G. Bonner, were greeted by a crush of Western reporters and cameramen as they stepped off the train. Friends were on the platform to meet them but there was no official greeting party.

Mr. Sakharov, in response to a question from a reporter, condemned the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. His criticism of the Soviet sweep into that country in 1979 was one of the issues that led the authorities to send him into exile in January 1980.



Thousands of spectators looked on as Voyager approached the landing strip Tuesday at Edwards Air Force Base, California.

## Voyager Ends Circuit of Globe

### Unrefueled Flight Is Fruit Of Technological Advances

The Associated Press

EDWARDS AIR FORCE BASE, California — The experimental plane Voyager landed Tuesday to the cheers of thousands of onlookers after completing the first unrefueled nonstop flight around the world.

"It wasn't the best landing I've made, but we'll walk away from it," said one of the two pilots, Dick Rutan, as he came down on a desert runway nine days and four minutes after the spindly, lightweight craft took off from the same base on its historic journey.

The feat has been described as aviation's last great goal.

In addition, Voyager's successful use of composite materials to increase the aircraft's durability and fuel efficiency has implications for commercial flight, specialists said Tuesday.

The odyssey surpassed 25,000 miles (40,325 kilometers), Peter Riva, a project spokesman, said Tuesday.

### LATE NEWS

#### MX Missiles On Line in U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP) — The U.S. Air Force has declared its first 10 MX nuclear missiles operational, the first time in 16 years the United States has added an intercontinental ballistic missile to its land-based arsenal, Robert Sims, the Pentagon's chief spokesman, announced Tuesday.

The air force now has 10 Poseidoner missiles on alert on the plains of southeastern Wyoming near Francis E. Warren Air Force Base, Mr. Sims said.

It has been installing the first batch of MX missiles at Warren since last fall. The 10 missiles now installed in Wyoming are equipped with 10 nuclear warheads each.

## Students Hold Protest In Beijing

Reuters

BEIJING — Hundreds of students from Beijing's elite Qinghua University took to the streets Tuesday night, demanding democracy and freedom in the first such demonstration in the capital during China's current wave of campus unrest.

Several thousand students gathered on the lawn of Qinghua University in response to posters and signs the Communist Youth League, the "internationalist" and the national anthem, witnesses said.

### Students Hold Protest In Beijing

Reuters

Under a crudely drawn banner saying "Support the students of Shanghai and Hefei," which are key centers in this month's demonstrations, about 1,000 of the students marched to two other universities in Beijing's college area.

Police did not intervene.

In Shanghai, where scattered demonstrations occurred again Tuesday in defiance of warnings that these were illegal without advance approval, a couple of hundred demonstrators were cleared away from People's Square by police.

### Students Hold Protest In Beijing

Reuters

Earlier, more than 500 students from the city's Tongji University marched through the center of town, slowing traffic to a crawl.

Speakers at the Beijing rally accused the official Communist Youth League and the students' union of not representing them and called for the establishment of a new students' association.

One witness said the 1,000 students marched to Beijing University, where they found the gate locked. It was opened only after they were admitted and pushed against it. Some of the students went to white ovens walked on to another university.

The demonstration, lasting more than four hours, followed a sternly worded editorial in the official People's Daily newspaper demanding that the students be dispersed and the main item on national television news, calling for stability and order.

See CHINA, Page 2

### SHINE TODAY



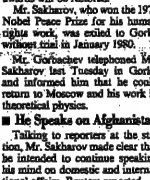
A Santa Claus figure sells Christmas decorations in Bethlehem. Many countries have contributed to the Santa Claus legend. Page 14.

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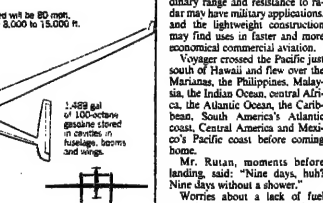
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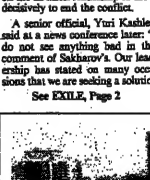
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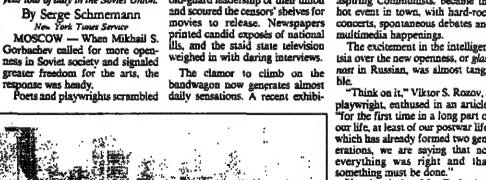
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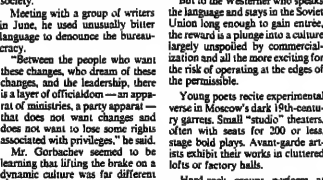
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## Rebels Call for Manila To Cancel Some Debt

MANILA — Communist rebels called Tuesday for repudiation of some of the Philippines' large foreign debt and closure of U.S. military bases as they exchanged agendas with the government for peace talks due to start next month.

The rebel National Democratic Front's proposals also included sweeping land reform and the scrapping of a proposed new national constitution in favor of one to be drawn up by a coalition government in which it would be represented.

The proposals said the government should repudiate or renege on "unequal" economic agreements with foreign governments and institutions and refuse to pay interest on the country's \$26 billion foreign debt.

"Armed hostilities," the Communists said, "shall be completely terminated" if President Corason C. Aquino agreed to the proposals. Government troops and the rebels, whose insurgency began 17 years ago and has killed thousands of people, began observing a 60-day cease-fire on Dec. 10.

The government urged the constitution to support its proposed constitution and offered an amnesty to any of the estimated 23,000 rebels who wanted to surrender.

Tedfco guerrillas, the government negotiator, said the Communist proposals would be considered when both sides meet on Jan. 3 to agree to the final agenda for the talks, set to begin three days later.

He gave reporters the government's proposed agenda, which included land reform and some other issues raised by the rebels as well as the amnesty offer.

The government rejected Monday many of the rebel demands, including the proposal to scrap the bases, saying the issues were negotiable.

The rebel statement said the causes included widespread poverty, inequitable distribution of wealth, human rights violations and "continued domination and interference of the United States in our political, economic and military affairs."

■ **Tribesmen Burn Market**

About 200 Muslim tribesmen set fire Tuesday to the main public market in a southern provincial capital in retaliation for the killing of one of their leaders, the military command said. The Associated Press reported from Zamboanga City.

A military spokesman said there were no casualties among members of the Yakan tribe who raided the town, about 150 miles (about 240 kilometers) south of Manila. He said the attackers apparently blamed members of a rival Moslem tribe from the Isabela area for the slaying of one of their leaders.

## San Francisco Loses Some Smugness

By Robert Lindley  
New York Times Service

SAN FRANCISCO — When the San Francisco Opera canceled its 1987 season season recently, many people here viewed the decision as another sign that this city has passed its prime.

According to leaders of the local arts community, so many of San Francisco's largest and oldest employers have left town or run into economic problems recently that corporate contributions to the arts have plummeted. Because of this, the leaders say, they are being forced to trim the city's menu of cultural programs.

Michael Gelert, director of development for the San Francisco Symphony, which canceled a tour of the Soviet Union after local corporations showed little interest in subsidizing it, said: "If the business strength of San Francisco continues to weaken, we'll lose not only dollars, but also business leadership on our boards and as volunteer fund-raisers."

These days there is a great deal of introspection in San Francisco about the city, its view of itself, and its future.

In the last year or so, studies have shown that San Francisco is losing economic ground to Los Angeles and that its regional economy has become too dependent on one business, the recently troubled high-technology electronic industry. But now, as awareness of these trends has set in, it has begun to affect the city's self-image and its self-confidence.

For more than a century, ever its fondest admirers would acknowledge, there has been an air of smugness, some critics would say arrogance, in San Francisco that could seem as pervasive as the fog.

See SAN FRANCISCO, Page 2

## Saudi Arms Dealer Denies Canadians Helped Finance U.S. Sales to Iran

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Adnan Al. Khashoggi, the Saudi Arabian businessman and arms dealer, denied Tuesday that Canadian investors had been involved in financing the U.S. arms sales to Iran.

"There's no Canadians involved. I went to a bank in the Cayman Islands," Mr. Khashoggi said in a U.S. television interview program. "I have a Canadian employee that's president of my company. So they said Canadian financing."

Mr. Khashoggi, who also repeated the denials of the assertions of a New York businessman, Roy Furman, a consultant to Mr. Khashoggi, who reportedly has said that two Canadians paid up money for a May 1986 arms shipment.

News accounts have quoted Mr. Furman as saying that two businessmen, Walter E. Miller and Donald Fraser, provided Mr. Khashoggi with \$10 million in credit for the weapons deal.

Mr. Khashoggi's comments came as the House Intelligence Committee tried to question retired Major General Richard V. Secord, General Secord, according to congressional sources and other witnesses before the House and Senate intelligence committees, played a central role in arranging the sale of arms to Iran and has been linked by documents to the

resistance he has encountered in his urgent demands for modernization and change in the economy and the society.

Meeting with a group of writers in June, he used unusually bitter language to denounce the bureaucracy.

"Between the people who want these changes, who dream of these changes, and the leadership, there is a layer of officialdom — an apparatus of ministries, a party apparatus — that does not want changes and does not want to lose some rights associated with privileges," he said.

Mr. Gorbachev seemed to be learning that lifting the brake on a dynamic culture was far different from trying to coax life from a battered engine.

In calling for greater liberalism, Mr. Gorbachev tapped a creative energy that has always thrived

just below the gray Soviet surface, largely invisible to the foreign visitor.

But to the Westerner who speaks the language and stays in the Soviet Union long enough to gain entry, the reward is a plunge into a culture largely unexplored by Westerners and all the more exciting for the risk of operating at the edges of the permissible.

Young people receive experimental verse in Moscow's dark 19th-century garrets. Small "studio" theaters, often with seats for 200 or less, stage bold plays. Avant-garde artists exhibit their works in cluttered lofts or factory halls.

Hard-rock groups perform at nightclubs, and young people in statures or "youth culture."

Members of the older generation

See SOVIETS, Page 5

Victorian townhouses at Alamo Square in western San Francisco.



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A Senate Intelligence Committee spokesman said efforts were under way to draft a report that could be "passed to the public and would summarize the past three weeks of closed-door interviews of three dozen witnesses."

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# U.S. Military Aid Is Flown Into Chad

## Gadhafi's Treatment of Former Rebel Seems to Unite Chadians Against Libya

By James Brooke

NDJAMENA, Chad—This town seemed to shake this week as a huge American cargo plane touched down with the first emergency shipment of U.S. military equipment since Libya began an offensive in northern Chad. The shipment, aboard a C-5 Galaxy transport plane, arrived Monday as Chadian government officials announced that Libyan warplanes, flying during a break in desert storms, repeatedly bombed Chad's capital.

Alioum Moussa-Mi, chief of staff to Chad's president, Hissène Habré, said that in addition to conventional bombing, Libyan forces had dropped napalm and poison gas on tribesmen fighting in northern Chad. The report could not be verified independently.

Chadian guerrillas led by Goukouni Oueddei, once allied with Libya in opposition to Mr. Habré, turned against the Tripoli government of Colonel Moubarik in October, when Mr. Goukouni was shot in the stomach by a Libyan soldier in a town near the Libyan border.

Monday, Chadian radio broadcast reports that Mr. Goukouni was being treated by the Libyans in an attempt to make him record an appeal to his supporters to stop supporting the Libyans.

Gadhafi may have gone a little too far this time, a Western diplomat said here. "For the first time in 30 years of civil war, he has produced a united Chadian front."

Another diplomat said that the number of Chadian fighters still allied with Libya "couldn't fill a four-star movie theater."

On Thursday, the State Department announced that President Ronald Reagan, responding to an urgent request from the Chadian government, had approved up to \$15 million in military equipment to help Chad repel Libyan troops.



TOP GUN — Stan Sweet, 59, of Roanoke, Virginia, firing a Colt .45 at a target, shows the skill that has made him first-ranked in the World Fast Draw Association.

# AMERICAN TOPICS

## U.S. Airline Delays Are Getting Worse

Delays on U.S. airlines are bad and will get worse, U.S. News & World Report magazine says, adding: "While bad weather gets blamed for 70 percent of the last time, it is the same weather that pilots have been flying through since the dawn of aviation."

The magazine cites dramatic increases of traffic, new route patterns, a shortage of air traffic controllers and obsolescence of their computers.

A decade ago, before economic deregulation of airlines drove fares sharply down, 17 million Americans took a yearly average of two air trips each. Last year, 50 million averaged three trips each.

With the new "hub and spoke" system in which a single airline's flights may converge on a central hub within an hour or so and then take off again, there is "little wonder that there are crowding, confusion and delays," the magazine says.

Relief is in sight: The Federal Aviation Administration is hiring hundreds more controllers and spending \$1.7 billion on a new computerized national air space system, whose components are slowly coming online. Routes are being expanded. But for now,

"we're experiencing the worst year ever," concedes William F. Bolger, president of the Air Transport Association, which comprises the 28 major North American airlines.

## Short Takes

Some members of Congress are anxious for the 1987 session to start next month so they can begin legislating to stem the tide of corporate mergers and takeovers. The New York Times reports. One proposal likely to surface in the Senate Finance Committee would make the interest on high-risk, high-yield "junk bonds" no longer tax-deductible, thus drastically inhibiting the use of this form of borrowing to finance takeovers.

A tree nursery in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, sells a concoction of food coloring and time that can be sprayed on evergreens. Temporarily and harmlessly discoloring them, a pale reddish-brown so they look dead, thus discouraging Christmas tree thieves. The price is \$10 for enough to spray one 10 to 12-foot (3 to 3.5-meter) tree, or two or three smaller ones. The stuff washes off in the rain.

Patrick J. Buchanan, President Ronald Reagan's outspoken communications director, says opposition by the State Department

killed his bid to be named ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Mr. Buchanan said the "national security leadership" supported him for the post but "I flunked my oral at the Department of State." Mr. Buchanan has criticized Secretary of State George P. Shultz for publicly repudiating Mr. Reagan's Iranian arms policy.

John M. Snyder, chief lobbyist for the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, one of Washington's more ardent pro-gun groups, is known for the militancy of his Christmas cards. They have featured Santa Claus pointing a pistol at a burglar. Santa with a gift sack stuffed with revolvers and Santa skiff in his sleigh blazing away at planes bearing Soviet markings. This year's version shows a beaming Bernhard H. Goetz, awaiting trial as New York's "subway vigilante," sitting on Santa's knee and receiving a "full pardon" for Christmas.

Shorter Takes: The Congressional Research Service says that the typical senator files 34 bills a year; the average representative, 16. Six percent of all bills proposed become law. Average length: nine pages in statute books, up from two pages in the 1950s. • Steven LaCruz, 23, of Boulder City, Louisiana, tried to get into a strange house Santa-Claus style, down the chimney. While he was still stuck there, police read him his rights. They said the response was a "Ho, ho, ho."

—ARTHUR HIGBEE

# A Maine Town's Boom, Built on L.L. Bean

By Laura A. Kiernan

Washington Post Service

FRIEPORT, Maine—This former village here on Casco Bay, just north of Portland, has been transformed into a consumer magnet.

That sense of belonging, that's gone forever, said Richard Wagner, who owns Decorsers, a tiny variety store on Main Street, squeezed between the Barbizon Linenette outlet and Canon Towels.

Mr. Wagner, whose great-grandfather started the store in 1904, is one of the few holdovers in a sea of big-name retailers. But it is not Anne Klein and Joan and David that draws the buyers. It is L.L. Bean.

The late Leon Leonard Bean, legendary outfitter to those who love the outdoors and those who merely want to be outdoors, began his mail order business here in 1912 when he invented the

up and, some say, the quality of life has gone down, or at least changed. All agree that the village, which the tax assessor once called a "rural town," lost something as it underwent a much-needed facelift.

White Stag and Warnaco took business in the old hardware store; the grocery is now a Hattaway's; the shoe store is selling shoes in an outlet; the drug store is selling shoes in a mini-mall. There are 85 shops in 10 square blocks here and 14 more about to open.

The natives call it "retail mania." Hordes of tourists cause gridlock on Main Street. Tax bills have gone

zone in the heart of the village, and there is a design review board. When that land is surveyed "that's it, no more stores," the town manager, Dale Olmstead, said sternly.

The proliferation of stores "was a puzzle to us all," said D. Kilian Andrew Jr., Bean's manager for public affairs. "Who is going to shop here?" Mr. Andrew said they wondered.

Most of the shoppers are pilgrims headed straight for Bean's. Some are tourists traveling Interstate 95, which exits into town, or Route 1, which is Main Street.

There are natural wonders on this part of the Maine coastline, such as Wolf Neck Woods state park on the north shore of Casco Bay, and handsome captains' houses and two marinas in South Portland.

On a rainy summer day, when lake and ocean vacationers have nothing to do but shop, traffic backs up five miles (eight kilometers). All year long, a parade of well-heeled shoppers journey here from the Boston area, two and a half hours away.

Mr. Downey said that local people "expected that aggravation to translate into a tax benefit. Well, it doesn't work that way."

Forty percent of the taxpayers here saw major increases after the town was reassessed for the first time in 12 years, and federal and state aid were cut.

# Senate Backs End to Trials In Argentina

Washington Post Service

BUENOS AIRES—The Argentine Senate, amid strong opposition, has approved a bill designed to end trials of military and police personnel accused of human rights crimes during the military regimes of 1976 to 1983.

The measure, approved Monday night, 25-10, appeared headed for approval Wednesday in the lower house of the Argentine legislature. President Raúl Alfonsín, who has urged its adoption, is considered certain to sign it into law.

Several women whose children disappeared during the period when the military abducted and tortured presumed opponents, shouted "Traitors! Scoundrels!" at the senators as they prepared to approve the bill.

On Monday, in neighboring Uruguay the parliament gave final approval to a government-sanctioned proposal that banned the trials of military and police personnel accused of human rights violations committed during 11 years of military dictatorship there.

Under the terms of the Argentine bill, any new complaints against the military and policemen must be presented within 30 days, while a 60-day deadline is set for any additional indictments.

The bill also provides for courts to be empowered to speed up the trial process. The initial stages of trial now are under way for about 30 to 35 officials, human rights groups estimate.

Mr. Alfonsín has said the measure was needed to halt "unending suspicion" of security personnel.

# Sandinists Doubt Captive Is U.S. Spy, Officials Say

By Stephen Kinzer

New York Times Service

MANAGUA—An American captured alongside a restricted Nicaraguan public, presented publicly for the first time since his arrest, has given a confused account of his motives and background.

The American, Sam Hall, was seized Dec. 12 near the Punta Estrella base a few miles from Managua. Authorities showed hand-drawn maps they said they had found hidden on his person.

Mr. Hall's statements to interrogators, as well as the apparently amateurish manner in which he was operating when arrested, have led Sandinist leaders to conclude that he is probably not connected to any official U.S. espionage operation, according to officials.

Mr. Hall said that in 1984, he visited the Pentagon and CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, for discussions about forming a private agency, the purpose of which he did not specify.

"A group was to be formed and I was to lead it as an individual," he said. "They called it an American foreign legion."

Mr. Hall, who offered a similar account in an interview broadcast Sunday on the CBS News program "60 Minutes," said the group never came into being and that "right now" he was its only member.

"I was working for an independent group in America," he said. "My sole purpose was to come here to find information only. I carried no weapons."

"I'm not working for the United States government that I know of," he said. "I can honestly say that."

He added: "There was information that needed confirmation, that one of the large bases here outside

of Managua, that there was a number of Cuban assembly groups assembling the M-24, the Hind-B. The Soviet-made Mi-24 attack helicopter, also known by NATO as Hind, is one of the most potent weapons in the Sandinist arsenal.

"Also, I wanted to see what kind of new construction was under way," he added.

A security official who accompanied Mr. Hall on Monday, Captain Oscar Lora, said Mr. Hall was in Nicaragua "to carry out missions of a terrorist kind."

Mr. Hall hinted that he had conducted other reconnaissance missions during his stay in Nicaragua. President Daniel Ortega Savaderra said after Mr. Hall's arrest that the prisoner was working "to promote terrorist action for the United States government."

Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann said the alleged spy was collecting data that would be useful only to Nicaragua's enemies.

Intelligence experts have said recently that U.S. espionage agencies have detailed information on bases such as Punta Estrella from aerial photography and other sources.

Last week, Senator Christopher Dodd, a Connecticut Democrat, visited Mr. Hall in jail. He later held meetings with senior government leaders, including a lengthy session with Mr. Ortega.

Mr. Dodd said there was "a lot of eyeball-rolling" among Sandinists regarding the Hall case.

"I think they realize what they have and what they don't have," the senator said in a telephone interview. "It sounds like a guy who read a classified ad in Soldier of Fortune magazine."

Mr. Hall indicated that he had been on the fringes of anti-Sandinist



Sam Hall

Share the secrets of Cardbu.

Flying KLM's Royal or Business Class on an intercontinental trip via Amsterdam? Then discover something special: Stay-on-the-Way.

From the Holland Promotion Foundation. Just look what you can enjoy: a tree hotel room—either for one night or one day in an Amsterdam top hotel. A 40 guilders meal voucher (app. US\$ 16). Plus

free bus transfers between the airport and the city centre. Fly KLM via Amsterdam Airport Schiphol. And Stay-on-the-Way.

We'll give you an Amsterdam good time on the way. Ask your travel agent or KLM for full details.

The Reliable Airline

# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## The Dirty Little Secret

Had Michael Griffith been beaten or hauled, he might have escaped, beaten or alive, from the gang that attacked him on Saturday in Howard Beach, Queens. He had been tied into the parkway and been killed by a passing car, the rest of us might have escaped confronting this harrowing incident and the attitudes it exposes. There is something no one wants to see.

The awesome fact, as Mayor Edward Koch said in a recent address, is that a "racial incident" occurred on the streets of New York. Commissioner Benjamin Ward and the police department responded with appropriate urgency, assigning 50 investigators to the case, in which 11 white teenagers have now been arrested.

The case involved the purest, simplest racism. Arrests alone cannot clear it. After a long spell during which the police did not even once again on the rise—and not just in the dark of night or in the Howard Beach of the night, it's plenty dirty, but it's not little and, after all, of civil rights gains, it's no longer much of a secret.

There have been ugly incidents on half a dozen campuses this fall. The most serious was in October at The Citadel, the military academy in Charleston, South Carolina. Five white students, including a Klansman, invaded a black cadet's room at night, shouting racial slurs and obscenities and burned a small paper copy.

The invaders were expelled but not expelled: the black victim resigned.

Earlier, a World Series dispute erupted into brawling between black and white students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Other New England campuses and the universities of Chicago, Texas and Alabama have experienced incidents.

And there have been incidents beyond the campus. Consider the arrest last month in San Diego of a black man, by a mounted

officer, for walking his dog without a license; the arresting officer drew him to the station at the end of a rope attached to his saddle. Or consider the case of Sheriff Harry Lee's recent order routinely to stop blacks driving in white areas of Jefferson Parish, outside New Orleans. He later rescinded the order and apologized for it, but it speaks volumes that he felt comfortable issuing the order in the first place.

Such events arise in a social and political context. The Reagan administration's concern for the aspirations of minorities has no principled adherents. An affirmative action, it has been overtly hostile. Civil rights have receded from national consciousness. There is less inhibition about the kind of racial slur that a few years ago people would have been more sensitive about. As Joseph P. DuSoy, chancellor of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, "We're always one generation away from losing our memory," he said.

There is a reason why the horror of Howard Beach, two aspects magnify the horror: renouveau and resignation. Resignation is the more important. It is just as dispiriting as the residents' resignation to living in polarized enclaves of racial and ethnic segregation. If they were not the same fate as Mr. Griffith if they tried to walk through a black neighborhood like New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant.

It is not surprising that the fear and hate will have drained away and race will be remarkable, at all levels of society, even in Howard Beach. But in order to reach that point, Americans must be willing to confront the dirty little secret.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## A Country in Crisis

South Africa's new censorship regulations represent an extraordinary and a self-inflicted wound. Already, in creating a state of emergency, the administrators of apartheid have narrowed the flow of information about the system's workings.

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inhibit the discussion and internal negotiation that alone offer a good alternative to the prevailing unrest. It can only further diminish official credibility.

The government seems to dream of isolationism against the world. It is the dream of the opposition and neutralizing another and, in the coming calm, imposing its own political solution or at least a degree of order.

But the claim of the government is the same and cannot last. South Africa is a political crisis pretending there is none.

Some Americans are at this moment in political reality to police repression and conclude that the United States must move from sanctions and turn up the heat.

It is time to imagine a new South Africa as a country in crisis. It is time to imagine a new South Africa as a country in crisis.

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PARIS — In the early years of this century, after Japan had defeated the Russian fleet in the Russo-Japanese War, a single engagement in the South China Sea, the Japanese were severely circled among the young people of Annam, in French Indochina.

The pamphlet said "I" as an obscure student, having had occasion to study new books and new doctrines, had discovered in a recent history of Japan how they have been used to conquer the impotent Europeans.

This is the reason we have founded an organization... selected from young Annamese the most energetic, with great capacities for courage, and are sending them to Japan for study.

Our only aim [is] to prepare the population for the future.

And what a future! Its betrayed promises, its tragedy were made plain at a conference held in the impoverished city of Hanoi last week.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, at its fourth congress, examined the record of what Vietnam has failed to accomplish since the struggle that began among students in 1920.

It was a nobleman and a secretary to the emperor of Annam. Le Duc Tho, foreign minister, was born in 1911, his father a functionary in the colonial administration. Le Duc Tho negotiated the Paris Accords of 1973.

The agreement that assured the American abandonment of a war it had failed to win. He had the taste, or principle, to refuse the Nobel Peace Prize for this achievement, while Henry Kissinger accepted it.

All were friends and early associates of Ho Chi Minh, the remarkable man who, after work on a French liner and a period in the United States and a journey to London, became, in 1920, a founder of the Communist Party of France, and subsequently went to the Soviet Union, not to Japan, "for study," and to prepare for the future.

As an agent of the Communist International, Ho Chi Minh returned to Annam in 1923 and was responsible, more than anyone else, for making Indochina's national movement a Communist movement, giving to it organizational strength, international support and a body of socially and economically irrelevant doctrines responsible ultimately for the failures admitted last week in Hanoi.

The revolution led nowhere. It has, since 1975, made lives worse for the Vietnamese people — by material standards, worse than under French colonialism. It has imposed an authoritarianism more oppressive of free thought and independent political action than the French would have tolerated.

Those, however, who condemn the Vietnamese to search for solutions to their economic problems that change the structure of society would be "fundamentally new."

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It is destroyed, but it is dormant. The Regime has celebrated glit and greed, not generosity. The years leading up to the Depression were not that different. Social Darwinism had a vogue in the Golden Rule, too. Such cycles may simply be a part of mankind's rhythm.

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Ho Chi Minh. From an Associated Press photograph distributed in 1950.

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## OPINION

## Vietnam Won the Battles and Lost the War

By William Pfaff

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## Inactivity May Be Best For Now

By Flora Lewis

CAIRO — One thing on which leaders in Egypt, Israel and West Bank Palestinians tend to join is a complaint about lack of momentum in U.S. Middle East policy.

It is not correct to say there is no policy. There is a delicate policy of marking time, waiting for the principals to signal that they are ready for non-exploited in his face in 1983. Secretary of State George Shultz has determined that the best place for the United States is in the back seat, not trying to drive.

The White House has not considered this Middle East play. There have grown up to high-level, spectacular U.S. diplomacy, shuffles and shuffles. It is a commonplace in the region that when things are not moving forward, it is because of a lack of momentum.

The message, no message (for people to look to), "waited a senior Israeli. The Arabs?" Where there is movement, good planning can be seen.

So the intricate planning now is on how to launch an international conference, which might prove an ultimate decision. It is an effort to start direct negotiations between Israel and some kind of Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

There are signs that the situation is not as bleak as it once was. There is a chance of going anywhere. The idea that something should be happening is taking hold. This is not mere cynicism. Appearances do matter; a mirage has its consolation. But it is not to build on the sand.

The hope for an international conference is not that it might settle anything, but that it might change the climate. So the obstacles are being moved forward, Israel's wariness of diplomatic initiative is being tested. The Soviet Union and preferably renewal of Jewish emigration as the condition for accepting Soviet participation.

There were signs earlier this year of some advance to Soviet-Israeli accommodation. The Russians were stopped dead. Why is not clear. European diplomats say the Israelis demanded too much at the start instead of too little at the end.

Israeli officials say U.S.-Soviet relations fix the threshold and anyone will not show flexibility on the Israeli side. It is a matter of looking up with Washington.

While it seems evident that Syria and Iraq are not at the moment, it is unclear whether Moscow would give Syria a veto on continuing on the Syrian side. The attempt is to relaunch the question of who will represent the Palestinians to a second stage. It will be even harder to resolve the floating glimpse of an imminent breakthrough at the beginning of the year. King Hussein of Jordan is not winning any Ludos from the West Bank with his promise for economic development. Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization remains overwhelming support in the Israeli-occupied territories, and only those who believe in the Israeli future believe that Mr. Arafat is not a serious decision maker for negotiation.

So there are plenty of sticking points for change. The situation is to evolve. A new generation is rising out of them more adamant, more militant, more impatient. The old guard; some more realistic, more pragmatic, more educated and aware of the international scene. The old guard must solve for themselves.

There is a race against time here between the old guard and the new guard and those who look to the future for magic revival. Fundamentalism is a problem for both the Arabs and the Israelis. In the Arab world, the new guard in Iran has an enormous psychological and emotional impact in the region, where the new guard is being ignored. If the Iranian experiment looks triumphant, there will be grave implications for the future.

But the key to the new growing acceptance that Arabs must work on their social and economic needs and that regional leaders must risk initiatives instead of expecting salvation from Washington, or from Heaven.

At this time it may be useful for the United States to let these ideas mature, discouraging the notion that it could win an advance to peace if it chose. The most promising sign is the gradual return of the less intransigent Arab states to Egypt and to the diminishing status on the peace policy. Mr. Shultz has a point. Activism can be worse than waiting.

The New York Times.

## It Was a Matter of Honor Then to Feed the Hungry

By Jim Fain



























## SPORTS

Plan for Professionals at '88 Olympics  
Backed by International Tennis Body

By Larry Siddons

The Associated Press

LONDON — A plan to allow the world's top professional tennis players to compete in the 1988 Olympics received a major boost Tuesday from the International Tennis Federation and Soviet sports officials.

The ITF said it would ask the International Olympic Committee "on an experimental basis" to open tennis in the Seoul Games "to all players without discrimination."

The plan must be approved by the IOC before taking effect.

"We hope that the participation of the best players in the world, both men and women, in the biggest festival of sport in the world will encourage millions of new people to take up the game," the ITF statement said.

After returning to the Games as an exhibition sport in 1984, tennis will be a medal sport in '88.

While professionals would be allowed to compete, the ITF said they would have to undergo drug tests, suspend endorsement contracts that require them to wear manufacturers' logos on uniforms and rackets, and "accept any form of financial reward whatsoever" for their participation in the Games.

The men's Davis Cup and the women's Federation Cup, the main international team events in tennis, would be used as the basis of picking the Olympic field, with a worldwide qualifying program to complete the field, the federation said.

Each men's and women's team would consist of no more than three singles players and one doubles team, the ITF said.

Such a proposal for tennis is similar to one put on hold last October at the IOC's 91st Session in Lausanne, where the major objections to the ITF plan were that it was presented by a tennis body, not the IOC, and that it was presented by a tennis body, not the IOC.

But while the IOC plan was opposed by Moscow, the ITF proposal appeared to have gained Soviet approval.

The ITF announcement mentioned that federation president Philippe Chatrier, a longtime advocate of open Olympics, had met recently in Moscow with Soviet sports minister.

The ITF said that if its plan is adopted by the IOC, qualifying tournaments would be held in Europe, the Americas, Africa, Asia and Oceania to pick half of the men's and women's fields. The other half would automatically be eligible for Seoul based on their performance in Davis and Federation Cup events, Woodhead said.

If a player chooses not to play on his or her national cup team as Czechoslovak Ivan Lendl has done this year, that would not bar that player from the Olympics, Woodhead said.

"Anyone could go through a qualifying tournament, provided they are nominated by their national Olympic committee," the said. "It's the NOCs who will nominate the players."



Philippe Chatrier

## Patriots Rally to Win AFC East

The Associated Press

MIAMI — It took the New England Patriots until the last 44 seconds of the regular season, but they finally guaranteed themselves a shot at another Super Bowl trip.

The defending American Conference champions, who had lost

to Stanley Morgan from Steve

dropped who had lost the injured Tony Eason with 9:26 remaining in the second quarter.

The Patriots won the AFC East championship Monday night by beating the Miami Dolphins, 34-27. The winning play was a 31-yard touchdown pass with 44 seconds

left to Stanley Morgan from Steve Droeg, who had lost the injured Tony Eason with 9:26 remaining in the second quarter.

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## Arsenal at 100: Still Running and Still Gunning

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — You get nothing for yesterday is a fashionable sporting cliché.

Arsenal Football Club thrives on tradition. Arsenal was born on Christmas Day a century ago, and has remained to lead the English League by five points this Christmas.

Fate! Coincidence? Or could it be that Arsenal, face to face with its past, has rediscovered the strength, pride, luck and

ROB HUGHES

substance that make a champion? Maybe it's a stirring to the pull of history, a fear of falling the ghosts of Christmas past? Humbug, you get nothing for yesterday.

Yet while industries grow fat on Christmas customs, so many sport discard history as old-hat.

Through Arsenal we can feel tradition. By no means England's first club (Notre Dame was formed in business since 1862), Arsenal was formed by workers in a government arms factory in Woolwich, in the southeast of London.

Clubbing together to buy a ball (price: nine shillings and three pence, less than half a pound — about 70 cents), the men played on Plumstead Common, as Don Square, then Royal Arsenal, then Woolwich Arsenal.

The players came through hard times. Woolwich Arsenal liquidated, and reformed, in 1910; three years later it moved to the new stadium, now called Highbury, to the north of London.

Its first home was a theological college in Highbury, where players washed in basins and the injured were wheeled away by milk cart.

The chairman then, Sir Henry Norris, was a member of parliament and a real estate wholesaler. Strategically enough, he was a member of parliament and a real estate wholesaler.

In soccer, although Norris ruled Arsenal for many years before being dethroned. Chairman Norris is not the fondly re-

membered George of Arsenal past, but his one great appointee is.

In 1925 he enticed Herbert Chapman from England, where Chapman had managed Huddersfield to successive league championships. Chapman, a truly proven winner as an organizer of men and as a chaser of personal fame and fortune.

A host of Chapman still watches over Arsenal's marble halls — a serious, scrutinizing, dimpled face that one recent manager swears "examines everybody who walks into the building."

Arsenal Stadium is a monument to Chapman's imperious "Gentlemen," who won the league four times and the FA Cup twice until Chapman suddenly died of pneumonia in 1935.

Arsenal fans witnessed a brief second coming in 1971. Under the management of Bertie Mee, a former club physiotherapist (born on a Christmas Day) and his coach Don Howe, the Gunners won both league and cup, a double that eluded Chapman.

Not much else did. Chapman's discipline (he even dictated his players' hair style, his right strategy and his grasp of public relations transformed the pro game.

Chapman convinced London Transport to remain the Gillette Road underground station, his right strategy and his grasp of public relations transformed the pro game.

Chapman was the first team to employ a third on-and-out defender, a "stopper" between the fullbacks. His was the first club to wear numbers, the first to venture overseas.

And he persuaded players to defend against their fans, an affliction we blame on modern coaches.

He bought Alex James, a goalkeeping wizard from Preston North End for a then princely £20,000, and called the brilliant wizard Scott to become the foraging inside forward, the springboard of Arsenal's counterattacks.

"It's not my job," moaned James, "to chase back for the ball." Now where have we heard that in the 1980s? Where do we hear goalkeepers complaining that they're sacrificing themselves to team duty? James was made to comply.

Arsenal bought whatever players Chapman desired to fit his tactics, and "boring Arsenal," "lucky Arsenal" won and won.

This was Arsenal, putting results before entertainment — the spiritual forerunner of "modern" play.

You will gather that I pass the odd master's best with more respect than affection. And I gather I am in the minority. I yearn

to be lifted by spectacle rather than to applaud systematic, dependable victory.

Arsenal of the 1930s reputedly winning virtues to spare. Arsenal in 1971 fitted the same straightjacket: absorbing attacks, disrupting the opposition, controlling the points.

In 1960, had an elegant forward, George Graham, pulled back in the role of forger. Graham, another Scot, was the double winner "had discipline, organization and camaraderie."

Last summer he strolled back into the marble halls as Arsenal's manager. He inherited fairly well — a door team coached by Howe, with a crop of youngsters maturing fast.

Two things had led to Howe's sacking as the century approached: senior players who shamed the club by drunk-driving convictions, and a scarcity of goal-scoring power.

This winter the earning won by Charlie Nicholas has disappeared. Arsenal players look like Chapman identikit: "When we are representing our club," insists Graham, "we all wear our blazers and flannels and club tie. That's the way it should be. That's the way it will be. For similar reasons, I don't want our players kicking fellow professionals or abusing referees."

Letters by the sackful thank him for restoring values. Yet these are early days in the Graham tenure, nothing as he constantly varies. Is yet achieved.

There remains little Christmas spirit in this Christmas club: Arsenal is all take and no give. In last dozen games have produced 10 victories, two draws and no defeats, 29 goals for and only 5 against.

Come Christmas afternoon, the team will have to bypass celebrations led by its Old Etonian chairman, the third generation of the family to run Arsenal. Peter Hill-Wood may propose a toast to the players, they must let him go for a Boxing Day match at Leicester.

The plan will be familiar. Keep calm, keep supporting the defense, let the other team make the pace, and strike when it's weary. Make an old scout happy.



Herbert Chapman, a proven winner.

## SCOREBOARD

## Hockey

## NHL Standings

## MAJOR LEAGUE

## PACIFIC DIVISION

## CENTRAL DIVISION

## ATLANTIC DIVISION

## ADAMS DIVISION

## CAROLINA DIVISION

## MONTREAL DIVISION

## NEW YORK DIVISION

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## Football

## Final NFL Standings

## AMERICAN CONFERENCE

## AFC EAST

## AFC NORTH

## AFC SOUTH

## AFC WEST

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## AFC NORTH

## AFC SOUTH

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## Basketball

## NBA Leaders

## TEAM DEFENSE

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## TEAM OFFENSE

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## College Top-20 Ratings

## U.S. College Results

## NBA Standings

## EASTERN CONFERENCE

## ATLANTIC DIVISION

## CENTRAL DIVISION

## PACIFIC DIVISION

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## OBSERVER

## With All Undue Respect

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — I don't write anything here about exceeding; rich people like the Sultan of Brunei, H. Ross Perot and Adrian Kizhnikov, who are making up the subterranean government that seems to operate from the White House.

First, however, I want to understand that though I speak of subterranean government in the White House, I hold the White House in deepest respect.

Ever since certain press people failed to report respectfully on the accidents that led to the undoing of Presidents Johnson and Nixon, many people say we in the news business treat our great men infamously because we are arrogant and disrespectful.

Most of us in the press want the people to know that while there are a few bad apples among us, journalists who actually enjoy sassing the chief of police and noting when someone has no clothes on, most of us are not like that.

This is why so many of us lately have written so many columns in support of the president, as if to strengthen the presidency. As those editorial and columns emphasize, I have a profound respect for the presidency as an institution.

I share that respect in all its profundity. This is why I hold the White House, too, in deepest respect.

Thus, when I write about the billionaires involved in the White House's subterranean government, as I intend to do after making it clear that I do so without malice, rancor, frivolity or childish desire to pick mischief out of great men and great institutions, I write as I should write from a deep understanding of the need to protect the president, the presidency and the White House from damage.

To treat our leaders and the buildings they inhabit with less than utter respect is to invite strikes and possibly even rebellion from the American people, as Governor Cuomo of New York recently pointed out in a speech about the press.

So to say, space limitations do not allow me to reprint all of that speech here, and I do not

attempt to summarize it lest I inadvertently convey an irresponsible, disrespectful or frivolous impression of the governor's message. Rather than run that risk, I prefer to do the responsible journalistic thing and advise my readers that the governor did, in fact, make a speech about the press and that his office will doubtless mail you a copy, so that you may read it text intact. If you send a self-addressed envelope to Mr. Cuomo in Albany, a city that is deeply respected by all responsible journalists.

Getting back to the billionaires, I am tempted to open these remarks with some reflections on the present administration's success in restoring greed's good reputation and to add that a history of the Reagan years might aptly be titled "The Greeding of America."

If I do so, please understand that no value judgment about greed is intended. I respect greed. Some persons, I realize, do not respect greed. That is their right. The wonderful thing about America is that it gives every individual the right to respect greed, or to detest greed, or not to care one way or the other about greed.

It is not up to journalists to applaud greed, yet at greed or even convey the impression that greed is something so many religions and the National Football League. The serious journalist will respect one's right to think as he pleases about greed, and such is my posture, as they say at the Pentagon.

Let me not conclude from the previous section that I lack respect for the way they talk at the Pentagon. The Pentagon is one of the United States' nation's magnificent institutions. I respect it.

If it is true, as certain disrespectful people assert, that they "talk trash" at the Pentagon, let's remember that their "trash" talk is a language that was evolved by our military experts. Personally, I have only the deepest respect for our military experts.

Now, if I have made it perfectly clear that what I am about to write is written only in the most responsible and respectful spirit, I would be obliged to write it only if there were space left to do so. Of course, this way I can't offend anyone.

New York Times Service

## A Creature Was Stirring in 1821...

By Angela Carter

"T'WAS the night before Christmas," reported Clement Clarke Moore excitedly, "when all through the house, Not a creature was stirring, Not even a mouse."

When all through the house, Not a creature was stirring, Not even a mouse. . . . The Christmas Eve of 1821, when the first recorded sighting in the continental United States of a now-familiar seasonal phenomenon.

Moore, professor of divinity at General Theological Seminary in New York, and therefore a witness of impossible integrity, later recorded how he had been privileged to observe the touchdown on his snowy roof of a flying sleigh, a team of reindeer and their fur-clad, heavily bearded, sack-toting driver. Moore was no slouch at identification.

"I knew in a moment it must be St. Nick," he wrote. That tone of breezy familiarity tells you a lot about this Moore, theological and Hebrew scholar though he might have been. St. Nick, indeed. He was obviously the sort of man who, if he met the good saint at a Scripture jam, he'd not only know him, he'd know him by name. St. Nick, he called him.

Even so, St. Nick might have punched him right back and bought him a beer. Moore certainly credits him with the complicity of a W.C. Fields.

"His cheeks were like roses, his nose like a cherry,"

And he claims he was a heavy smoker.

"The stump of a pipe he held tight in his teeth, / And the smoke it curled about the head like a wreath."

Evidently St. Nick had not heard the surgeon general's warning, unless he felt his nicotine did not apply to supernatural beings. All the same, I feel that Moore, as a teacher and as a responsible parent, ought to have managed to give him the salutary point at least once in a while. St. Nick was no saint as far as the law goes, but he was a saint as far as the law goes.

Such stories as this are told



Illustration by John D. Jones. The man is Santa Claus, and the reindeer is one of his team.

about him in the illuminated manuscript containing tales of the lives of the saints that were put together in Europe in the Middle Ages. Tales of his magical strangeness as the pictures that illustrate them, with their brilliant colors and showed perspective. Santa Claus put all that behind him when he emigrated to America, of course; he came with the Dutch to New Amsterdam, or so they say, calling himself Sinter Klaas at that time. (No doubt a careless immigration official wrote it down as Santa Claus.)

But where did he get hold of the reindeer? They must have been a recent acquisition in 1821, because Moore was the first person in the history of the world to see him with them, although Santa Claus, under a variety of pseudonyms, had been in the gift-delivering service for some centuries in Europe.

He'd used a wide variety of transport, depending on local legend and custom. Sometimes he'd traveled on foot, sometimes on

horseback. Occasionally in a cart drawn by goats (named Cracker and Gasher, as it happens). Sometimes on camel.

And he might make use of some, because originally St. Nicholas hailed from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. Asia Minor, as it was known in his day. A region rich in saints in the fourth century, when he was a bishop in those parts.

But reindeer? My suggestion — Russia. Not, of course, that the real St. Nicholas ever went in any previous place. But long before he took on the extra work load of the Santa Claus business he was one of the Moslem-world's saints of the Middle Ages, a sort of universal social worker with an endless list of clients. Prominent among them was Russia, which only goes to show that overwork may make even a saint slip up.

The saint, as a saint, though not of course as a person, spent a good deal of time in Russia, where his sons and images reigned. He was obviously a man who performed an endless stream of miracles. Perhaps it was in St. Nicholas that he acquired a team of reindeer, while traveling on his way to the North Pole.

When he was in his extraordinary capacity as Santa Claus, he was planning to start a toy factory. No doubt his intention of using cheap, nonunionized labor, because he was also the patron saint of the poor and must have given up a fair gap of business practice in banking.

All the same, as both saint and Santa, he was in synch with the general. When he was a bishop in Asia Minor long ago, he was known for his extreme generosity. He was so generous that he gave away his money as if it were water — born with a silver spoon in his mouth, he never got used to the taste and couldn't bear to be thanked either — he always gave by stealth.

At Santa he still gives by stealth, but having picked up a few contemporary tips from those bank clients of his, he's a little more subtle. He never got used to the taste and couldn't bear to be thanked either — he always gave by stealth.

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